1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the
geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern
provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules
of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they
may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the
clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this
[128] law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175] /199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubjugated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,

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671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.
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Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
629 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
177 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

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761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 795 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [798] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of [594] these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, [688] meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,